1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
(ca. 1860-1900) NR 10 Klamath NR 10

587 a woman with young children is as likely as not to be a member of a joint house group with her husband's immediate kin. We may also wonder if she would not ordinarily continue to reside with them even though she does not remarry in the group. It might be illuminating to know how residence with or apart from this family affects the practice. In default of a husband's brother, the widow should marry a nephew, either fraternal or sororal, or another of his kinsmen. A payment is made but not so large an amount as at her first marriage. Since only close relatives are paid, a widow may not be paid for if she has none. Much depends on the woman's willingness; she may not care to be a plural wife. Nevertheless, it is in some degree compulsory, for if she should marry another, her deceased husband's brothers may kill the man. While their objection is voiced loudly enough, they do not announce their purpose but await a favorable opportunity to surprise him.

586 Quarrels and adultery lead to separation, which is frequent; there seems no compulsion to endure an unbearable situation. Incompatibility and jealousy (suki'ksale'a) bring on quarrels as frequently as they do in any other group of human beings. Typical causes
• 837 of domestic friction cited to me are adultery, as with a slave woman of the household, a woman's continual anger with her husband, or her demand for sole attention in a polygynous household. It is always the wife who leaves. My informants could imagine no situation short of adultery which would lead a man to send his wife away. Nevertheless he can force her to act. A good, stout-hearted woman stays, so they said, no matter how badly she is treated; only a mean-spirited one flies home. Inevitably the situation is complicated by children. A wife may take all her children with her or only the little ones. This seems a question of who is at fault, for a woman taken in adultery may choose to submit to beatings by her husband rather than be separated from her children. If a wife leaves of her own volition and for just cause, her husband must pay again to have her return, must assuage the feelings of her family by gifts. If he does not desire her, he may ask for the return of the marriage gifts but they are not automatically forthcoming. If the wife is at fault he may choose to demand the return of the bride price. Its return
586 is called sĕldŏnga. If a man is impotent his wife may leave him for
842 another. But he cannot cast his wife aside because she is barren; he adds another to the household.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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In the matter of adultery it is quite clear that a man has no recourse but to kill the lover; demanding payment for the wrong is unthinkable. He waits his opportunity to ambush the other. A man of no consequence may have to put up with the situation, but at least he would never think of turning to a chief for help.[74] The husband may send his guilty wife away, may beat or even kill her. Sometimes he will send someone to demand the return of the bride price, and her people return what still remains. The woman is then free to marry her lover who must pay for her in regular fashion. Nothing goes to the former husband. If a woman finds her husband unfaithful, she may beat (satŏ'mdoḳa) the other woman; her final recourse is to return home. [586]

TRANSVESTITES

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Transvestites or berdaches (tw!ĭnnă'ĕk) are found among the Klamath as in all probability among all other North American tribes. These are men and women who for reasons that remain obscure take on the dress and habits of the opposite sex. Their number is small. Five men who lived as women were cited by an informant, two women who lived as men, and others are known. One of the former was from the Dalles. This is a very minor fraction in a population numbering upward of two thousand. Kroeber has assumed that such individuals are invariably psychologically abnormal, homosexual;[75] I am not sure. The case of Lɛle'ks below rather argues against it. At any rate their abnormality is socially canalized: they are permitted to live as they desire despite the distaste of the normal Klamath for the practice, and the scorn and taunting to which he subjects them. [114]

It is to the point to note that the men who turned women adopted woman's dress, pursuits, personal habits, and speech, and in one case at least married. Neither of the two women affected male garb; one married and made some pretense of men's habits, the other is rather simply a case of an irregular sex life. The cases of two of the transformed men which follow seem to turn on adolescent experiences. While these are phrased with relation to esoteric situations, they are more adequately explained as states of psychological disturbance rationalized in these terms. A third of the men-women turned shaman, but I do not know that this followed directly from the transformation. [756]

[74] Punishment of adultery and other torts by a chief, as described by Gatschet (1:58 *et seq.*), are post-reservation customs.

[75] Handbook, 46, and elsewhere.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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If we look for elements peculiarly Klamath, they are difficult to find. At best there is only the regularity with which seances occur at midwinter, and even here we do not know with certainty that this does not occur elsewhere. Further, if we feel that this regularity is due to recurrent possession, this merges with general Northwest Coast practice, and its uniqueness disappears. The peculiarity of the Klamath complex, then, rests only in the specific combination of widely distributed elements that they have effected, a combination known nowhere else in exactly this form.

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THE MARRIAGE COMPLEX

Social relations among the Klamath, even more than the shamanistic practices, are clearly explicable as a function of their geographic position. They are most clearly crystallized in the matters of chieftainship, slaveholding, concepts of wealth, and the relative social standing of shaman and chief, but especially in their marital relations. Household and village groupings, puberty rites and analogous customs, have much less definite or peculiar form among them. For this reason, the discussion which follows will be confined largely to the earlier group of topics. As the most complex situation is that surrounding marriage, I will analyze this first.

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While marriage among the Klamath is contracted by purchase, it is not a negotiated transaction. Payment is socially obligatory. It is a seal of respectability and in a rough way the amount changing hands is a measure of the social pretensions of the families involved. Hence clandestine matches are severely frowned on. No obligation may be assumed for which payment is not forthcoming. Yet such payment does not fix the status nor the value of an individual with any precision. For example, the purchase price of a murdered man's mother or that of his bride never enters consciously in assessing his blood price. Failure to pay for a bride is a blot not easily erased.

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It must be remembered that the reciprocal gifts from the bride's family frequently outweigh the purchase price. Further, the bride is in no sense a chattel, but free to leave her husband at will, he having but slight recourse to recover his gifts. Nor is a wife obligated to bear children to her husband, nor does their birth cancel the marriage debt. In adultery it is clear that a man has no eye to the monetary value of his wife's affections. He kills the lover; to take payment is unthinkable. It does not appear that a marriage brings about a con-

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1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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The latter reciprocated by visiting with gifts for the husband's father. 171*
Here, too, indemnity was demanded for adultery or constructive adultery. Shasta data also indicate a contractual relation between the families; the levirate was compulsory and a sister must be furnished for a deceased wife or an adulteress. So firm is the contract conceived 171+
that a man who carries off a widow without compensating her husband's family stands in danger of his life. Parallel to the Yurok case, 587
the husband who made no payment for his wife had no redress for adultery. Perhaps the contractual relation was as strong among the Puget sound people but the data are insufficient to support the view. A Nisqually widow was obliged to marry her husband's brother or cousin, and a widower married his wife's sister. But if the widow did not marry among his relatives, she usually returned to her own people with her children. Among Snohomish and Snuqualmi, if a [586]
woman abandoned her husband or was divorced for good cause, her people had to return the bride price. Klallam expression is much the same; a widow was expected to marry her brother-in-law or a near relative, a woman's family to offer a sister or relative of hers on her death. Similarly a wife's parents were expected to offer repayment [586]
of the bride price if she left her husband, but it was bad form for him to accept it.

The Klamath attitude is at some remove from this one of mutual obligations. The levirate was customary but not obligatory, and the sororate permissible but no fixed custom. The widow was under some obligation to her husband's brothers, who might object should she marry another, but this seems rather a matter of sentiment than right. The feeling was that she, a member of their family and even an inmate of their house, should remain one. The reaction to a wife's adultery [837]
is the common one of revenge on the lover, but with no thought that the husband's rights to the wife had been damaged.

Throughout a wider area the levirate and sororate were both practiced, but nowhere do we find them of the obligatory nature described above. It will suffice to list these cases. The levirate was customary among the Tillamook. (Perhaps if we knew more of this people this would transpire to be another obligatory case, considering their proximity to the Chinook.) Among the Achomawi it was perhaps regular;[446] the Sacramento Valley Maidu, usual; the Northwestern Maidu, general; occurred sometimes among Yuki and Pomo (northern, southeastern, and eastern divisions, although of the latter Gifford says

[446] Kroeber, Handbook, 313.

1: Spier E-4,5 (1925-1926) 1930
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dle beyond this limit, with a notable recrudescence of the latter on the lower Klamath river. Part of the mechanism of its exchange in marriage was a series of reciprocal visits, of potlatch character southward to the Columbia, a mere formal practice beyond. 171 * 583 556

Among the concepts underlying the practice of bride purchase was the sense of mutual obligations of the contractants' families. This was avowed by the coastal tribes from British Columbia to northern California. It assumed the express forms of compulsory levirate and sororate and of the right to children. Further, the families were obligated to restore the marriage settlements if the marriage terminated unfortunately. The man's financial interest in the wife he had bought was evidenced by his ability to mulct damages from an adulterer or one even thought to be such. 171* [837] •

The exogamy which appears in this area was not the prohibition of marrying within the community, but an exogamy of practice. To maintain caste, marriage must of necessity have frequently been with persons of the same rank and wealth outside the village or tribe. This was undoubtedly more the circumstance in the upper strata of society. It is obvious then that the distribution of this practice coincides closely with that of sharp distinctions of caste and wealth. Beyond those tribes whose attitudes may be so characterized, there was a fringe of peoples who had taken over the custom without its antecedents. Such local exogamy has been noted as far southward as the Hupa, the Sacramento Valley Maidu, and as far eastward as the Nez Percé. 171* 582 554

The habits of postnuptial residence seem to correspond closely with the sense of purchase. It was patrilocal, the bride being taken at once to her husband, in the coastal area southward to northern California. Some variability does indeed appear but this seems no more than the common circumstance of residence according to preference. The Wishram instance of regular temporary matrilocal residence is an anomaly. 171* 591

The position of the Klamath with respect to this northwestern marriage complex was that of a distinctly marginal group. Purchase to maintain social standing was present but the values not fixed; the actual amount changing hands, relatively small. A series of formal gift-bearing visits was prescribed, in which the bride's family returned more than they received, but there was no intentional rivalry in giving. The first visit was that of conducting the bride to the groom as among all the southerly peoples. Residence was patrilocal 171 * 583 431 171 * 591

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV	
3829. Polygyny prerogative of any man	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	595
3830. Polygyny rare in tribe	–	+	+			–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	
3831. Sororal polygyny	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3832. During life of sisters	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	
‡3833. Maximum number paid for	1	2	.	1	1	1	1	–	–	1	1	.	–	–	–	2	
o3834. Maximum number in same house	2	2	.	2	2	2	2	–	3	2	2	2	–	2	2	2	
3835. Because first wife barren	–	+	.	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	
3836. Without barrenness of first wife	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3837. Post-mortem sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	.	587
3838. General	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	.	
3839. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	.	
3840. Especially if children	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	.	
3841. Obligatory for widower	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
3842. Life endangered, if he does not comply	+	+	+	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	–	587
3843. Stepdaughter marriage	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	595
3844. Simultaneous	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3845. Successive	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3846. Additional payment for daughter	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
3847. Rare	+	+	–					+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3848. Disapproved	–	–	–						+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	
3849. Polyandry, husbands unrelated	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	595
o3850. Maximum no. of husbands	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
o3851. Maximum no. in same house	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3852. Polyandry, fraternal	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
o3853. Maximum no. of brothers in same house	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	
3854. Wife lending	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	837
3855. Between any 2 men	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3856. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	587
3857. Obligatory for man	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
3858. Obligatory for woman	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	–	+	–	
3859. Additional payment, gifts for woman	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	
3860. Brother-in-law can punish woman if she refuses	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	[686] [607]
3861. Cut her hair, ear, nose	–	–	–			+	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	–	–	
3862. Can kill her	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	.	–	–	–	+	–	[304]
3863. Killing common	–	+	+				+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	
3864. Man may marry son's son's wife	–	+	–	–				+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
3865. Common	–	–	–	–				+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
Marriage of Blood Relatives																	
3866. Cousins; man to any cross-cousin's daughter	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	582
3867. Sister exchange	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3868. 2 men exchange sisters	.	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3869. Simultaneously or nearly so	.	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3870. Successively	.	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
3871. No payment or gifts for brides	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	
3872. Payment for both brides	.	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	
3873. 2 brothers marry 2 sisters	–	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
Exogamy																	
3874. Local group exogamy	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	
3875. Preferred	+	+	.	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	–	–	+	
3876. Obligatory	–	–	.	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	.	–	–	–	
3877. Endogamy, if not related	+	+	.	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	.	+	+	+	
3878. Tribal exogamy optional	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
3879. Often practiced	+	+	+		+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	

	Kl	Mo	SE	SW	At	AW	AE	WT	WM	WS	MM	MF	NF	NM	NS	MV
Adultery																
3930. Adultery rare	+	+	+	+	◔	+					+	−	◔	+	+	−
3931. Wife punished	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	−
3932. Beaten	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	R+	+	R+	+	+	−
3933. Hair cut	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3934. Mouth burnt		−	◔								−	−	−	−	−	−
3935. Sometimes killed	◔	◔	◔	−	◔	−	◔	◔	◔	◔	−	◔	−	◔	◔	−
3936. Wife's seducer punished	+	+	◔	+		+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	(+)	+
3937. Killed	+	+	+	+		◔	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	(+)	+
3938. Fine paid by killer	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−
3939. No fine, if seducer instigated affair	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
3940. No fine if wife instigated affair	−	−	−				+	+	+	−	−	.	−	−	−	−
3941. Feud starts	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	−
3942. Feud stopped by payment	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−
3943. Beaten, by husband	−	−	−					+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+
3944. Seducer pays fine	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3945. To husband	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3946. To woman's family	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3947. Wife sent home; let go; given to seducer	◔	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
3948. Husband punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	+
3949. Beaten	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	◔	−	+	(+)	−
3950. Deserted	◔	◔	◔	◔	+	◔	◔	+	−	◔	−	+	−	−	◔	◔
3951. Killed	−		◔											◔	−	−
3952. Husband's paramour punished	−		−						◔	◔	−	+	−	−	−	−
3953. Constructive adultery punished	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	−	−	−
3954. Husband pays man, if wife proposes such	−	−	−	−	−	−	◔	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
3955. Woman beaten if she proposes such	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	−	.	−
3956. Woman sent home, if she proposes such	−	+	+								−	−	−	−	.	+
3957. Man fined for proposing adultery	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	.	−
3958. Man killed for proposing adultery	+	+	◔	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	.	−
Divorce																
3959. Divorces rare, especially if children	+	+	+		+	◔					+	+	.	+	+	+
3960. Adultery by wife grounds for divorce	+	+	+	◔	◔	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	−	+	+	+
3960a. Adultery by husband grounds for divorce	+	+	+	◔	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	−	+	.	+
3961. Barrenness	−	◔	+	◔	+	−	−	−	◔	−	−	−	−	+	.	.
3962. Jealousy	+	+	+	◔	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+
3963. Fighting	+	+	+	◔	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+
3964. Laziness	+	+	+	◔	+	+	◔	−	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+
3965. Maltreatment by husband	+	+	+	◔	+	+	◔	+	◔	+	.	+	+	+	+	+
3966. Divorce involves repaying bride price to husband's family	−	−	+	◔	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
3967. Children go to husband's family	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	.	−	.	+	+	−
3968. Children divided	−	−	−	◔	◔	◔	+	−	−	+	.	−	.	−	−	−
3969. Children stay with mother	−	−	−					+	+	+	.	+	.	−	−	−
3970. Wife keeps nursing baby	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	.	+	+	+
3971. Grandparents, either side, take children	−	−	−							+	.	−	.	+	+	+
3972. Wife keeps own property	◔	−	−	+	−	+	+	◔	◔	+	.	−	.	+	+	+
Nonaffinal Remarriage																
3973. New husband pays widow's brother-in-law	◔	−	−	−	−	◔	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	−	.	−
3974. New husband asks widow's brother-in-law's consent	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	.	+	.	−	−

000 "They do this if the father-in-law is rich, and if her parents tell her to. But if the father-in-law has some close [male] relatives, her parents will tell her to take a relative of her father-in-law's for a husband, instead." WT: Man may marry his son's son's wife, for same reason woman marries her brother-in-law (see note 3839); man may not marry his son's wife. WM: Man tells nephew to marry his son's son's wife; does not marry her himself.

3923. AW: Mother tells her daughter that if latter plays with brother, she (daughter) "will be ashamed."

Adultery; divorce; nonaffinal remarriage.--

3930. Virtually denied by many informants. At: Bear will chew up adulterous man. NP: "They didn't have that sort of trouble in those days; they stayed together good."

3934. SE: With glowing ember.

[684] [837] 3935. Kl, Mo, At, AE, WT, WM, WS, MP, NM, NS: Killed by husband sometimes. SE: Adulterous wife returned to parents, and return of payment for wife demanded; parents sometimes kill such a daughter later. AE: Form of punishment which might end fatally sometimes meted out to adulterous wife; when she and husband come to flooded stream in springtime, husband lays pole across stream and crosses on it; tells woman to follow him. When she is halfway across on pole he pulls it up at his end; she falls into stream, and if she can, saves herself, or else is drowned.

3936. SE: Seducer poisoned by hired shaman.

3937. AW: Woman's husband may kill attacker, if latter does not have "a lot of powerful relations. But if he has a lot of relatives, the husband would be afraid of killing him; his relatives would take revenge."

[684] [837] 3947. Kl: After wife severely beaten, husband tells her, "Better go home; I don't want you any more," and wife returns to her parents; "that's the last of her."

3949. MP: By wife.

[684] [837] 3950. Kl, Mo, SE, SW, AW, AE, NS, MV: Husband may promise to behave better, and wife then sometimes returns to him, "if he makes a good promise." SE: In such instances, husband usually buys wife back. WS, MV: Woman may desert husband, marry another man.

3951. SE, NM: Wife's parents may hire shaman to poison erring husband, or (SE) man to shoot him.

3952. WM: Wife sometimes goes over to husband's paramour, fights with her, but not with husband.

3954. AE: That is, gives man some gifts.

3958. SE: Usually only if proposals are made to married woman, mother of children.

3959. AW: "Poor people divorce each other; they don't care about anybody, even if person had lots of relatives [to revenge affronts]. But rich people hardly ever divorce."

3960. At: Divorce and sexual license before marriage "used to be unknown; now men and women

*539 593 sas tánkak. Tsúi wiggátak tchía, tsúi wä'kala, tsúi hûk mukák k̲'lăkú.
to them not many. Then together they lived, and she became mother, and the babe died.

Tsúi hû'nk pän wutódsna, tsúi pän mbusé-alpĕle. K̲ú-idshi hû'k snawéds;
Then her again he gave up, and again lived with (her). Mischievous (is) that woman;

3 tsû'ssak sû'la sha, hissuáks hû'k wû'lantana: "tám mi'sh setû'lχ kanî?
constantly haggled they, husband the used to ask (her): "(did) with you concert anybody?

sü'gs' ish, k̲á-i sa-i'shiank." Tsí sa hû'n ki nánuk spunä'ks; tsúi st'ssûka
tell me, not concealing." So they said every night; then they do it

ná-asht giug. Tsúi sa k̲ú-i sû'ta pipĕlángshtan staínas, tsúi sa k̲ú-i tchía.
for saying so. And they embittered mutually hearts, and they wretchedly lived.

6 Hû'masht-giug tû'mĕni laláki nä'-ulχa, túmĕni huskiû'tankpĕle. Tína
On this subject often the chiefs ruled, many times made them live together again. Once

snáwäds hûk pálla hishuáks m'na shû'ldsisas shätõ'lχ; vû'nsatka hûnk
woman that deceived husband her (and) with a soldier copulated; in case (she)

[684] skä'na pállank sas sûldsámkshi. Tsí hûk shû'ta titná huk snawä'ds; tsúi
rowed abstracting (it) from them to the troops. Thus acted at a time that woman; and

9 laláki nä'-ulχa hû'nksht Pû'lam snawä'dsas; ktû'tsgn sa hûk laláki sätó-
the chiefs tried that Bull's wife; cut hair off they the chiefs for hav-

lakst sû'ldsisas. Tchúi pän kédsa Paúl; Waitängi'shash tst's setõ'lχ tánkt.
ing slept with soldier. Then again left (her) Bull; with a Warm Spring man too he lodged there.

Tsúi pän mbusé-alpla, tsúi sas wáts skókta pän, tsúi sha pän ak sissõ'ka;
And again he lived with (her), and to horses he paid once over more, and they again quarreled;

12 at sa k̲ú-i hak tsía tsússak, tsúi laláki pänak hû'skiûtka. Tsúi pän
they wretchedly lived always, and the chiefs once more made them live together. And again

mbû'se-alp'l, tû'sh spungátgupĕle É-ustat tchî'pksht hûnk snawä'dsas. Pû'l
he lived with (her), over there he brought back on Lake shore house the wife. Bull

toks hî'wi hímboks tánkt, tchúi hî'-i lélktcha tchî'ktchik spû'nktchapaluk.
hauled logs then, and there abandoned the wagon to bring (her) back.

15 Tsúi spû'ntpampĕle, tsúi nä'-ulχa sha pä'n, spû'lhi sa Pû'lash, tsúi sa
And he brought (her) back, and tried they again, imprisoned they Bull, and he and she

sχókta sas pä'n wátch, tsúi sa spunkámpĕle pän, tsúi sa pän hû'nk
paid them once more horses, and they set (him) free again, and they again

sumsä'-alank tsía.
marrying lived.

18 Wakák tsik sa tchía, k̲á-i ni tû'mĕnat.
How since they have lived, not I learnt.

NOTES.

[178] [837] Matrimonial reverses like the one given in this narrative are by no means uncommon among the Klamaths of the present day. They are one of the unavoidable consequences of the gradual emancipation of the females from the former rule of their brutal husbands through the advent of the whites, and also of the obnoxious and corrupting neighborhood of the soldiers at Fort Klamath.